736 male orphans are neglected. In Tampiitaua in 1947, I found a single child under ten without father or mother. He was a boy of about two years. He was captured by the Kayapó when they [726] attacked the village shortly after my visit. The fact that he was the only child to be abducted at the time may help to define the position of orphans under four years of age.

858 In contrast to these insufficiently protected children, we found 554 among the Tapirapé a figure who differed from the usual child in being treated with far greater attention and pampering. In 1935 Ampitania was the "favorite child." This girl of four or five was indeed the little princess of Tampiitaua. She was always gentle and polite, and constantly disclosed new charms. She was far more ornamented than other children, wearing white fluff glued to her body and several bead necklaces, aside from the cotton ornaments painted with urucú. She stayed alternately with the two most important men in the village, spending one day and one night with Kamairahó and his wife, and the following day and night with Vuatanamy and wife. She lived, therefore, in the two largest houses and with the leaders who were, to some extent, [621] rivals. She thus held, undoubtedly, a unifying function. Kamairahó made a point of telling me repeatedly that she was descended from "captains," thus calling my attention to the girl's "blue blood." Incidentally, he himself also seems to have been a "favorite child" (cf. Wagley 4, 23).

The institution of the "favorite child" also exists among the [171] Karajá, according to my inquiry of 1935 (cf. Baldus 7, 83) and confirmed years later by Lipkind (2, 186). These Indians of the Araguaia have a special term for such children, whom they call ioló.

171 Among the Tapirapé, as among all other South American tribes 858 I visited, I observed the behavior of children among themselves and in relation to adults, which differs markedly from the behavior of the children I knew in Germany. These seemed, so to speak, much more "childish" than the Indian children and many neo-Brazilian children. They had less interest in the adult world because it was much less accessible to them than it is to the children of the Brazilian forests and cities. Because they did not talk to adults on an equal footing, asschildren here so commonly do, the

children raised under the German authoritarianism of the turn of the century did not seem as "grownup." The attitude of the Indian child, [127:235] however, is determined not only by the freedom he enjoys along with many neo-Brazilian children, but also by two other factors which make him more like the adults: (1) among the Indians, the activities of the child are much closer to those of the adults than among us and are never different in type from the work of the parents; (2) from the earliest age, the Indian child owns individual property which he and he alone may dispose of as he wishes.

We have already alluded above to the strict respect shown for the child's property. As far as work is concerned, it may be said that the Tapirapé children learn adult work through play. The boy of three already has a small bow and arrow, the size of which corresponds to his size. The girl of three already has a small sifter, the size of which corresponds to her size. Thus, the two of them go fishing like a grownup couple, with the little man shooting the fish and the little woman gathering them in the sifter. Naturally, the size of the fish is also in proportion to the size of the fishermen. When they return home, they put the little fish in the embers and roast them. Then they eat them, thus showing that a Tapirapé of three already knows how to take care of himself. As the boy and girl grow, so do the bow and sifter, until they become a man's bow and a woman s sifter when their owners reach puberty. This applies to all the implements used by these Indians, namely, clubs, baskets, pestles, spindles, and other utensils. This, however, does not mean that prior to puberty the boys participate in the economic life to the same extent as the girls, who often, while the boys loaf, help their mothers from a tender age according to their strength and to the capacities of their years and thus constitute an increasingly productive element.

Naturally, Tapirapé children imitate grownups in areas other than work. They soon learn the so-called automatic smile that characterizes those Indians, a certain coquettishness, and what stirs most vividly the soul of their tribe, that is, dances and songs. I saw boys from four to seven years old making dance masks for themselves with wild-banana leaves, put them on their heads, and then dance and sing in a manner corresponding to the type of mask used. In the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, I witnessed similar scenes in 1947.

We may say of the children of that village on the isle of Bananal, of Tampiitaua, and of many other Brazilian Indian communities, what Fernão Cardim (175) wrote with reference to the Tupinambá: "...the boys are cheerful and given to frolic and play with much gentleness and friendship, for among them no evil words are heard, no [127:236] indecencies, nor do they call their fathers and mothers names, and rarely do they disagree as they play, or quarrel about anything, hit each other, or do battle..." Modern authors also speak of the pleasant children they found among South American Indians (cf., for example, Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 147). Small children of both sexes, up to about five years of age, are called antaí in Tapirapé. In Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (656), we find the following entry: "Taína, 'child.' Name applied to both sexes during the first years of life, until they begin to walk and talk, are given a name, and begin to specialize in their respective tasks, at which point the boy becomes curumi and girl cunhantaí." Aside from these terms, the Tapirapé use ampyki for the small boy and pityngí for the little girl. Yves d'Evreux (86), dealing with the age "levels" among the Tupinambá of Maranhão, writes as follows: "The first level, assumed to be common to males and females as they come out of their mother's womb, is called Peîtan..." [translated from French]. In Montoya we read (2, 384): "A girl, or a boy up to age three, Mitang" [translated from Spanish].

From about six to around 12, that is, until the girl's first menstruation and the beginning of the boy's puberty, the Tapirapé call the former kutantaí and the latter ekonomî. Montoya (2, I, 383 and 377) gives Cuña taî for a "girl up to 10 years" and Cunumí for a "youth."

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

756 789 sions in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

554 622 The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized authority. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modernly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term "*capitão*". Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

622 557 858 First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a *čiríkakántu*, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the *čiríkakántu* are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

616 562 (23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most *čiríkakántu* are boys, although girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two mate "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

514 (24) On this subject of chieftainship, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "chefe principal" and a "vice-chefe". He considers such offices hereditary, the oldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next oldest becoming vice-chief (*op. cit.*, page 81). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of *čiríkakántu* were generally passed on by parents to their oldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *antá áwa* — or as their "song leader" — *amemiká áwa* — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were *itithakánte* when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership.

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous *aniénga*, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north-

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were the ones who generally produced *itithakánte*. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal", carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his wife, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wantomanu, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader".

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our *pamé*, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept; yet informants were not able to explain of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. 881 One of the most interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For ● 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, [304] and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [856] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

881 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [297] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, [556] cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

Puberty.—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women.

Marriage.—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.